

CRITICAL REVIEW

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS AS A TOOL FOR CONTEXTUAL TOURISM RESEARCH: AN EXPLORATION

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Narrative analysis within the social sciences has evolved throughout this decennium as a mature qualitative methodology. An extensive body of academic publications has already been portrayed. The urgency of a narrative analysis becomes even more obvious in light of the emerging network society and the tacit knowledge, hidden in its interacting networks. Narratives are vehicles par excellence to uncover this hidden information. The growing attention within the academic and professional community for the attribution of implicit, contextual information that should make social reality more visible in everyday life, is related to the growing significance of narrative analysis for research into tourism. How can stories of silent voices in the tourism field be related to the main developments in tourism theory and practice? In this article a conceptual frame will be developed as an answer to this question. A critical review on the cultural experiences in the international classroom of tourism studies in the Dutch universities of Wageningen and Breda will illustrate the significance of this frame and a methodological design will be suggested for further use.

Key words: Network society; Hybridity; Silent voices; Contextuality; Doxas; Narrative methodology

Introduction

In order for something of quality to take place, an empty space has to be created. (Peter Brook, director of the Royal Shakespeare Company)

A new type of society is emergent (Appadurai, 2001; Castells, 2000) in which historically new social structures stem from a segmentation of the

global economy, an international division of labor, informational-based production and consumption, and an increasing diversification worldwide but also within each region. There are several centers, several peripheries, and some regions according to some analysts even seem to have become structurally irrelevant. And tourism is no exception.

Global movements in financial, technological, and informational networks constitute a level of power that remains decisive in its influence on the world economy and power structure. Huge groups of people are economically incorporated in the structures of these emergent and powerful capitalist networks. Whole industries in Western society have been transferred to the Southern part of the globe where labor is cheap. And more non-Western expatriates than ever are moving over the world but also more highly qualified specialists from India and other developing countries than ever are involved in the most recent developments of information technology or other areas of applied sciences. Groups of people from various parts try to connect with these powerful networks. At this level changes seem to have far-reaching consequences.

At a next level of such a network analysis these most powerful, global networks interfere with the networks of regions, states, and with the international networks already in existence. These interfering processes have a lot of social and cultural consequences for various groups of people. Therefore, what happens in the interrelations between these networks? What happens with migration patterns all over the world; what happens with the positions of men and women?

An interesting global phenomenon is the deterritorialized ethnos capes of Appadurai (2001), which starts with the migration patterns. Varying groups of ethnic, religious, or other composition are scattered around the globe with less and less a concrete basic land as their point of reference. This historical phenomenon takes place on a larger scale than ever and makes the relation between the global and the local even more troubled. In huge parts of the non-Western postcolonial world this deterritorialization even is much more striking, as Achille Mbembe demonstrates (Appadurai, 2001). Boundaries in Africa are produced by moving already existing ones or by doing away with them, fragmenting them, decentering or differentiating them. There are different boundaries caused by different mechanisms of which colonialism is just one. Oil networks on the West African coast with its hinterland, urbanization by regional migrations to Johannesburg, Casablanca, Cairo, Kinshasa, Lagos, Douala, Dakar, and Abidjan. Islamifica-

tion, Christianization, tribal controversies with a long history are symptomatic for the multiple geneses of the current African boundaries. And this remodeling is still going on following a variety of unstable patterns. Boundaries of territories have been shifting all the time.

This is not only true for spatial boundaries, but for symbolic ones as well. In the same book there is a chapter by Zhang Zhen (Appadurai, 2001) on the changing images of young Chinese women in urban China. Presentations on TV series such as Public Relation Misses attract a huge audience and correspond to ongoing changes in social space and encourage identification and mimetic desire. The magazine *Chinese Woman* published a long-running debate forum in 1994 entitled "The Value of Women—The Issue of the 'Rice Bowl of Youth'." The Rice Bowl of Youth represented the new symbol of a mainly female and young public that took its opportunities to participate in a new "global" hedonistic culture in China's metropolis. Editors of the magazine asked readers: what is the appeal and value of feminine youth in a society dominated by the drastically expanding market economy? Hundreds of replies to this question resulted in a hodgepodge of "perspectives often confounding preconceived discursive boundaries between socialist and capitalist values, modern and traditional worldviews, official and non-official attitudes, and collective and private concerns" (Appadurai, 2001, p. 139). And a little bit further the author concludes "With the steady enlargement of the rice bowl of youth into a media event, the kind of debate carried out in 'Chinese Woman' has allowed a vast array of voices to enter the public space" (Appadurai, 2001, p. 153).

Therefore, at a microlevel of this multilayered model to understand the nuanced tension of the global versus the local, an attempt must be made to understand how people from various interfering networks translate all these influences in their everyday lives. The analysis also entails activities at the level of the household, the kin groups, and the community as they are influenced by these networks. In order to understand the game of cultural globalization on a microscale even better it seems relevant to construct "true" pictures of selves in varying networks. Within these networks actors with "selves" play the roles that to an important

degree are determined by these networks in their everyday life-world.

During the process of modernization in the 19th century the social sciences had their Western origins, discarded by their universal orientation. Within a network society this universal orientation, which originated in the West, needs to be relocated from within the diversity of the interacting networks from all over the world. Many (Corijn, 1998; Hall & du Gay, 1996; Nisbet, 1966) have referred to the biases, presented as universally valid, that survived this Western origin. Especially the exclusion of “local perspectives” has been considered as a major threat to a culturally diverse human existence to be explored. For example, a postcolonial perspective claims to stimulate (counter)discourses in which diversity and “genuine” localness might be related to a more subtle discussion of the global versus the local. According to Hall and du Gay (1996), this perspective takes place even in a new epistemological space as introduced by Foucault (1966). In such a space, Foucault taught us, within a short period of time the whole grill through which scientists and other people understand reality shifts into a relatively stable and completely new one, a new *episteme*. Hall, much inspired by Saïd (1979), speaks about such a postcolonial episteme and eminent writers in literary criticism like Spivak (1987, 1999) and Bhabha (1994) pretend to work in the same emergent “discourse.”

A discourse seems to be a too essentialist concept in our contemporary network society and pluralism seems to be a necessary element in these network discourses. In this sense, Foucault's (1966) “discourse” still seems to have a Western flavor that needs to be removed from it. And what is more, in a network society Foucault's relativism is not an answer to the differences in perspectives that need a confrontation from the more universal orientation in social sciences. So, diverging perspectives will never be understood as isolated wholes that are not in need of critique from the outside.

However, this postcolonial episteme indicates the necessity to consider the often hidden colonial influences in various forms of sociological, anthropological, and philosophical thinking. As Bhabha (1994) states, the culture of Western modernity

must be relocated from a postcolonial perspective. The question, therefore, of how to organize this type of relocation or reorientation in the social sciences of our network society becomes a crucial one. By trying to relocate this modernist perspective, Hollinshead (1998b) accentuated the relevance of Bhabha's treatment of the concept of *hybridity* in this network society, especially in the tourism field.

Bhabha's research agenda—or rather, his critical program—on the sense of disorientation and the disturbed discriminations of post-colonial life is a huge contribution to the emergent trans-cultural inquiry within postmodern scholarship: tourism studies theorists of culture production simply cannot overlook Bhabha's fresh insights into hybridity—for, to repeat, tourism is very much the, or a, imaginary business of ‘difference’-making! (Hollinshead, 1998, p. 135)

According to Bhabha (1994)—and Hollinshead (1998b) already introduced this need in the field of tourism studies—there is a need for a theory of hybridity, in which room will be made for new, emergent voices, and the “translation” of social differences that goes beyond the polarities of Self and Other, East and West. Too often these differences are not heard in the official discourses, in tourism as elsewhere.

Silent Voices in the Tourism Field

Too often actors in networks remain silent and there are different reasons for this silence. In many cases power is the name of the game and voices became silent because they were silenced down. But, in cultural respect as a rule, background assumptions may remain silent because they belong to a self-evident “mental program” that has been learned by all members of a particular culture. They are not questioned when everybody thinks in the same self-evident manner and the question is how to generate these silent voices into the public domain of the tourism field. Self-evident, silent voices from different cultural backgrounds originating from within our network society emerge in contemporary, global discussions. More contextual analysis is needed in this respect in order to generate these voices to the academic and professional debates, also in the tourism field. The prob-

lem often is that there seems to be a strong Western bias in these global discussions, that abstracts too much from these voices. There is a long tradition of Western predominance in tourism studies as a whole (Hollinshead, 1998a) and the reason is obvious. Tourism as a mass phenomenon generated in the West and has been studied as such since that moment. A growing middle class from North Western Europe and Northern America became rich enough to travel in their leisure time. Leisure time itself was defined right from the start as “non-labor time.” Through that definition the “rest of the world” already became excluded because they lived in a different, survival economy, did not have any “non-labor time,” and had no opportunity to travel at all. In tourism studies this introduced a strong focus on these Western tourists as representatives of a touristic, but essentially Western, culture. Their search for authenticity or for pleasure, the commodifying influence of tourism on everything that it is confronted with, the dominance of Western organizations in the academic and professional field, this all became symptomatic for the main interests of tourism studies as an academic discipline.

At the same time it became clear that this Western-dominated attention is not adequate enough to understand the new situation in tourism as situated in our network society. Professionals in the field witness emergent markets from Japan, China, India, and Russia. Their motives and lifestyles are not understood well enough by standard social scientist explanations (Platenkamp, 2007, pp. 33–37). Extrapolating the wishes of mass tourists in the Western past to the Chinese tourists of today seems to be more problematic than scientists and marketers realize. Chinese tourists, for example, abhor “la dolce faniente” of the Western tourists on the beaches of Ko Samui in Thailand. Pleasure trips, touristic roles and motivations, sustainability, modernization, authenticity, just to mention some of them: they all need other voices that should explicitly resonate in this so-called but still too Western tourism discourse. What does leisure mean according to the Indian Hindu background? What does sustainability imply on Bali? What types of modernization through tourism can be distinguished in Cameroon or in Mexico? What does authenticity mean for a Buddhist?

The answer to this type of question implies a thorough reflection on how to include contextual information into academic and professional discourses in tourism. First one needs to understand modernization in Cameroon or the meaning of authenticity in a Buddhist environment, before one might translate these insights into academic and professional activities. This first phase of contextualization needs much more attention than is often available in the tourism field. Therefore, the “international classroom of tourism studies” (Lengkeek & Platenkamp, 2004) offers a unique opportunity to bring this phase of contextualization into practice. In this practice students from all over the world experience culture shocks in their “stock of life world knowledge” (Schütz & Luhmann, 1974) that make them sensitive to the type of problems we are referring to. In organizing this life world knowledge a contextualized perspective in this international classroom proves its contribution to understanding the new type of question from above in the tourism “field” (Bourdieu, 1980) of the contemporary network society.

This emergence of sensitized points of reflection can be understood as the effects of *allodoxas*, in Bourdieu’s (1980) sense of the word. A doxa is implicit and self-evident. It is what people in a particular life world or culture share and which goes without saying, it is a “adhésion aux présupposées du jeu” (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 111). Allodoxas are doxas that come from “different and independent historical sequences” (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 89). During a culture shock doxas and allodoxas from different backgrounds clash and become visible because of this clash. Then, it appears, what North Africans think about the way Western Europeans treat elder people or how to evaluate gender relations in Western Europe.

There is a crucial relation between these (allo)-doxas and the concept of a “habitus” in the work of Bourdieu (1980), that is relevant for our purposes. For Bourdieu doxas emerge from within the dialectic relation between a field and a habitus. A field, according to Bourdieu, points to the external, objective power structure of relations between positions that emerge from the historical state of affairs of transnational struggle. A habitus, in relation to this field, stands for the inner “dispositions” that enter the individuals as sustainable

schemes of perception and evaluation and that push them to practical actions. The habitus is the incorporation of the immanent structure and necessity of the field, whereas it contributes at the same time to the survival of the field by being the origin of practical schemes of representation, of meaning, and of action strategies. In this sense our social actions are guided by a “practical feeling” or a “feeling for the game” in the field. In the context of this study the awareness of interacting networks refers to the interaction of “fields” as well. Fields from various parts are in a closer contact than ever before and when one speaks, for example, about “creolization” (Bhabha, 1994; Condé & Cottenet-Hage, 1995) this implies the interference of various fields with their habitus that clash, conflict, lead to misunderstandings, or interact in diverse other ways. Therefore, clashes of allodoxas imply the enunciation of parts of the underlying habitus and fields that constitute the basis of these allodoxas.

Doxas and allodoxas in this perspective are established forms of thought that serve as *common sense* at a particular moment in a particular field. When Western tourism professionals are confronted with the lack of interest in beach tourism among the Chinese, the underlying habitus in the field of leisure time of Chinese tourists is involved as well. What allodoxa makes the Chinese tourist not sensitive to any beach tourism at all? This question still can only be asked by a Westerner in this way. Therefore, if this professional also tries to be self-reflexive, he or she becomes aware of his own habitus as a Western professional that assumed wrongly that Western tourism behavior would be universal. This professional starts to be interested in this difference from the moment on that Chinese tourists get to the positions in the tourism field that were occupied by Westerners only before. As the power constellation in the field changes, so will the concomitant habitus and the knowledge that goes with it. More fields and habitus, more doxas and allodoxas enter the tourism and leisure discourses in international tourism destinations. In sensu this does also hold for other power fields such as the globalizing trade in health and related cluster services, known as medical tourism.

This goes for international destinations but for

local cultures in a globalizing environment as well. During rituals, parades, festivals, but also in education and the transmission of cultural competences, organized religion, capital-C “Culture,” and popular culture these relations between positions in different fields and their changing habitus become manifest and open to deciphering. When a barber becomes a hairstylist, many things in the habitus have changed before this could take place. In a habitus one sees institutions in a “field” tied together in their production of particular perspectives, like the ones that produce a “hairstylist.” Habitus among others become “lenses of mankind” and therefore the relevant question, here, refers to the relation between a doxa (that we wish to make explicit) and a habitus, related to a sub-cultural field, gender relations, or the educational field.

When these “lenses” of communication have been internalized by the individual members of a culture, they may constitute doxas as well. Becoming aware of such a doxa, in a reverse movement, implies therefore a first step to understand part of the habitus that relates to this doxa. “Vedantic Writings” belong to one of the cornerstones of the habitus of many Indians in their interpretation of leisure as “an internal journey.” It has been internalized by many Indians who see this inner journey as a self-evident mentality that goes without saying, as a doxa. This makes a doxa relevant for the purpose of getting at information from silent voices. A doxa can be made explicit and because of that lies at the edge of implicit and explicit life world knowledge. As explicative life world knowledge it becomes a point of departure for the translation into the habitus. Understanding the perspectives and the knowledge that stem from this habitus implies a more intense study than is possible here, but forms the necessary next step in order to get to more insight into silent voices and their tacit influence on leisure and tourism. This translation constitutes the last part of this movement of contextualization in the tension between the global and the local. It creates the opportunity to get at the richness of contexts as systematically as possible. A narrative approach in these contexts leads to the awareness of some relevant and sensitized points of common sense (doxas) in the widely occurring cross-cultural encounters of our global vil-

lage. Taking these sensitized points of reflection as a starting point to get at a deeper understanding of the habitus (and fields) that are lit up within these rich contexts that go with them, implies the last step in order to get at a more substantial understanding of these contexts. In the “international classroom of tourism studies” this can be elaborated in an exemplary practice that might resonate in other tourism practices as well. Here, in a more refined manner, new voices from the various contexts in our network society are to be included in order to understand the shortcomings of the academia and of professional life in the tourism field in between the global and the local.

Earlier (Platenkamp, 2007) a general approach has been designed in order to include contextual information into the official academic and professional discourses of tourism. In this article a methodology has been reflected on that might enable us to generate this contextual information to tourism discourses.

In line with Platenkamp (2007) the accent will be put on a narrative approach in which tentatively eight voices have been created in the international student community of Wageningen and Breda. This study had the character of a critical review and needs a much more thorough reflection on how a narrative approach might support an improved insight into the complexities of this network society, *casu quo* the international student community in a globalizing practice.

Cross-Cultural Shocks as a Source of Information

The boundaries set by culture often become apparent in cases of “anomalies,” “problems,” or disjunctures identified by social actors. This type of clash can become a window through which otherwise latent cultural elements and their mutual connections can be identified. Cultural shocks can offer us this type of opportunity.

In the studies on culture shock the focus mostly is on the individual and his or her reactions to an unfamiliar environment. The individual handling of this type of situations is the main concern of these psychological studies (Hofstede 1980; Ward, Bchner, & Furnham, 2001). In the context of the creation of knowledge the value of a culture shock lies more in the liberation and understanding these

clashes generate: the full realization that other customs are not quaint or meaningless to those who practice them. In cross-cultural encounters people seem to depart from the superiority of their own customs, their own *doxas*. The everyday life-world is organized in terms of their own culture with a specific meaning structure that seems to be self-evident and relevant in all everyday life cases. Therefore, according to Schütz and Luckmann (1974), the transition from one “province of meaning” (meaning structure) to another can only be accomplished by a leap, which is accompanied by a shock experience. The feeling of this self-evident superiority is under pressure, even being threatened. And this is exactly what happens in a cultural shock as we perceive it. It offers the opportunity to practice cultural perspectivism more in depth by focusing on cross-cultural misunderstandings through culture shocks.

A Life-World Shock at the Start

But a cross-cultural shock involves more life-worlds at the same time in a context of different “provinces of meaning,” which have become part of a new everyday life in this globalized world. These “provinces of meaning” coexist juxtaposed to one another, but they can clash as well. People experiencing such a clash, a culture shock, are thrown out of their closed everyday life-world. This event cannot be underestimated in its far-reaching consequences. A person’s life-world is a person’s guarantee of survival in a particularly structured environment. When this guarantee is taken away, the world may become a chaotic and threatening jungle. People with a long experience in another culture recognize this shock without exception.

In a local, regional, national, transnational, de-territorialized, and global world where networks are more complicated than ever before this type of transitions seems to be highly current. Self-evident background assumptions—the *doxas* of Bourdieu (1980)—which attribute a lot to the self-evident positions of many people in traditional and modern everyday life are questioned in this context. The enormous amount of art production within this globalized context is an obvious symptom of this questioning. That is what makes a cross-cultural shock so important in this discourse.

In this world cross-cultural shocks are an important source of information. Writers such as Rushdie or Kureishi in Great Britain—but in each European country there is a huge production of literature by writers in between cultures—have testified this convincingly. Looking for a sense of “belongingness,” they traverse these frontiers in different forms of cultural life.

Cross-cultural shocks may also be related to the awareness of the almost impossibility of coping with “cultural differences.” A main reason for this is that it is not just a question of different cultures. It is a clash of life-worlds in the first place, which include cultural elements, among others, as attempts to structure the chaos. The outcomes of these attempts to survive are uncertain and the awareness of this uncertainty makes these clashes so intense and important to understand. That is why the concept of “life world-shock” will be welcomed as better than a (cross-)cultural shock. There is more to cope with in these situations than culture alone.

Sensitizing Perspectives During Life-World Shocks

During a life-world shock one enters an “open situation” in which varied forms of differentiated, habitual knowledge become thematic in a new reality and the question comes up how deep to the bottom one must go to master the situation.

New problems are created by gaps in the interpretations of the new provinces of meaning that get reality for them because of the eruptions in their stock of knowledge. And the relevance of all this is that “familiarity” is usually graspable only in the negative, through “effects of alienation” which occur when something hitherto stable suddenly explodes’ (Schütz & Luckmann, 1974, p. 159).

A Cameroonian male student, who enters a mixed student house for the first time, is shocked by the gender relations in The Netherlands and starts to reflect on the same type of relations in his home country. He becomes sensitized to this topic and from there on he will focus on this difference in background assumptions. Therefore, he might start to develop a new (sensitized) perspective to gender relations in cross-cultural contexts at the end of the day.

What happens here is comparable to the sensitizing concepts of symbolic interactionism where

the possibility has been introduced “of finding a processual, interpretive social science that would utilize sensitising concepts grounded in subjective human experience” (Denzin, 1992, p. 56). Concepts, in this tradition, are not operationalized and tested thereafter, but at a start they are loosely defined and are supposed to get their fuller significance during the process of interpretation of these human experiences. If *concepts* are replaced by (sensitizing) perspectives, the outcome suits the purpose of the international classroom to generate perspectives that may evoke tourism discussions.

The purpose, here, is to stimulate these sensitizing perspectives in narrations from students abroad after their confrontation with their new Dutch environment. At the end of the day, these perspectives might lead to the uncovering of some “common sense biases,” some *doxas*, from previously silent voices in theories that are also related to tourism and leisure.

During a life-world shock elements of tacit background assumptions, so-called *doxas*—“adhésions aux présupposées du jeu” (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 111)—are “shaken loose” in confrontation with the (Dutch) host culture. By referring to these unique experiences students develop their sensitizing perspectives by telling their stories and clarifying them in a dialogue with Dutch students.

A basic question, here, is how to develop strategies to involve these insights, hidden in important elements (*doxas*) of this background knowledge, in the common sense biases that lurk at the background of academic tourism discourses.

Narrative Methodology in the Social Sciences: A Powerful Relationship

The social sciences want to research society in all its aspects. In this simple statement lies the link with the narrative world and its methodology. According to Barthes (1977), who sees a central role for the narrative in social life, “Caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature, narrative is international, trans-historical, trans-cultural: it is simply there, like life itself” (p. 79).

The social sciences are interested in the social life of every actor. The relation with the field theory of Bourdieu (1980) is a nice example of this way of thinking. In sociology this basic idea has

been elaborated within the paradigms of phenomenology and ethnomethodology. Both emphasize the interactions of social actors. Within this interaction lies the force of the narrative. Through interaction the narrative is the outgoing dynamic into social life. Czarniawska (2004) points out this important role of the narrative for social sciences: "Social sciences can therefore focus on how these narratives of theory and practice are constructed, used and misused" (p. 6).

In fact the social sciences have also a quest, a search for meaning in the lives of social actors and the social world. Narrative methodology could make this quest more fruitful and easier to explain. The way individuals deal with their lives, the interaction that they share with each other, all this can be pointed out in a narrative tale. In our terms, a narrative can set the agenda of social scientific issues in interaction as in social life in general. Of course in the social sciences there are limitations to the narrative methodology. Czarniawska (2004) puts this in the right words: "But worries about the status of the narrative material are relatively small compared to the worries about 'narrativized' social science. Does anything go in social science writing?" (p. 132).

Therefore, if we want to move from general social science towards the relation between narratives and research into tourism, we also will have to deal with the typical postmodernist way of thinking "anything goes" (Feyerabend, 1975). This also crosses the meaning of a methodology, which indicates and supposes structure and methodical reasoning.

In the sense of a narrative methodology, this means that certain concepts occur and have to prove their intellectual usefulness. Following the theoretical body of Bal (2004) we can speak of narrative texts (a text in which an agent relates a story in a particular medium) of a story (a fibula presented in a certain manner) of a fibula (a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors) of an event (transition from one state to the other). We choose to adapt this simple methodology; in fact, it can easily be translated towards its use for social sciences.

Events, acts and actors: these are the elements of everyday life, once beautifully described by

Goffman (1974), who developed a still challenging dramaturgy to be applied to the untheatrical.

The narrative way of structuring reality is being adapted by certain authors within the field of the social sciences. In this way, the construction of someone's own identity through narrative methodology is beautifully portrayed by Haynes (2006), in which she is interested in the social world of accountants. The author uses a narrative methodology, based on biographies, to get closer to the identity of the social actors. This is a very clear example and proves that a plot of the social sciences and narratives could enhance a better understanding and recognition into the field and habitus of Bourdieu (1980). A target in this article is to see if such possibilities are also open towards tourism research.

Narrative Methodology and Tourism (Industry)

Taking the basic concepts related to narratives and the specific context of tourism into consideration, it seems that within the field of Bourdieu (1980) tourism could be seen as a social reality, a social framework. Also, stories, narratives, events, and actors play a role within this framework. If you consider research into tourism as a part of the social sciences, the possibility should exist to use also the narrative methodology in this field of expertise. To state it very simply, also tourists and tourist professionals have stories to tell, experience events and practice acts. Therefore, there is a large body of knowledge that could be explored within this field.

Some authors have taken this path. It is possible, following Obenour, Patterson, Pedersen, and Pearson (2006), to adapt tourism services on the basis of narrative interviews with tourists. However, they also report the danger of incompleteness, ambiguity, and contextuality (Riessman, 1993). Also the experiences of families with young children could be explained, using narratives from these families. It gives an insight into the social life-world of these people, and enhances the relation with the specific touristic contexts. Gram (2005) performs this narrative exercise, which states also the very specific relationship between narrative methodology and qualitative research. But also in the framing of tourism destinations, such as Portu-

gal and Spain, relating to the image that tourists have of this destination, the usage of narratives could be seen as a possibility. Santos (2004) describes the different frames of Portugal (contemporary and traditional) that are determined by narratives such as “Romanticized perceptions and implications of the past” or “Urban Portugal.”

Narrative methodology is used in research into tourism, as a very broad research field. New, exciting publications suggest that also the narrative is finding the turn to be functional in an academic mode of knowledge. However, in tourism—being also a very practical and professional work field—narratives should also have the capacity to deliver and suggest real-time solutions for the tourism professionals and tourists. In this article this narrative methodology has been used to see how tourism students and their different cultural backgrounds are translated in very specific doxas and presuppositions. With Czarniawska (2004) the authors are convinced that narrative methodology is a powerful tool to detect what is hidden or latent in the tourism field and context.

Narrative Methodology and Silent Voices

One needs an academic attention for the attribution of implicit contextual information (tacit knowledge) of insiders; these are the “silent voices” that make the true social reality visible in everyday life. Contexts that are hidden, stories that only occur when you see or hear them in stories, tales—in other words, narratives. Starting from the basic concepts in narrative methodology—acts, events, actors, and stories—How can this methodology contribute to the detection of silent voices? First of all, people and tourists do find it comfortable to tell narratives if you create the right atmosphere as a researcher. If you want to embark on the discovery of the self-identity of backpackers, and how they change throughout their experiences with narratives, you need as a researcher a certain anthropological quality. Noy (2004) states in his article that “The narratives exhibit a clear connection between the touristic experiences their narrators underwent while traveling and the unique experience of self-change of which they tell: the former is narratively presented as the basis for the latter” (p. 91).

The internalized world of the backpackers can be seen as a hidden world, which one could facilitate through narratives. These silent voices could also help professionals to adapt their touristic products along several touristic categories. “Silent voices” could emerge from events that are seen as unusual, unexpected, or unique (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), but maybe also from classes of stories out of the mundane and commonplace (McCabe & Foster, 2006). Silent voices might be conceived of as an outskirts of the Narrative Unconscious in relation to culturally unconscious memories. Freeman (2004) states:

What the idea of the narrative unconscious suggests, to me at any rate, is that there is a deep ‘otherness’ or alterity within the fabric of identity, that alongside the manifest narratives we might tell about ourselves there are indeed latent counter-narratives, narratives that are different, that have little to do with events or scenes or (my) experiences but instead with supra-personal structures of meaning and significance (i.e. culturally-rooted aspects of one’s history that have not yet become of one’s story). (p. 342)

In this quotation the common root of silent voices methodology and narrative methodology is set forward. As a narrative researcher, interested in silent voices, you want to discover the Narrative Unconscious. This narrative unconscious could be related to the Doxa principle of Bourdieu (1980). Hidden doxas in the life-world of the tourist are showing the researcher what the historical supra-personal structures of meaning are.

In the following of this article the narrative unconscious of a network of international students will be approached as in a critical review of the experiences at two Dutch universities, in order to be able to introduce a first debate into a silent voices methodology.

Silent Voices in the International Classroom of Wageningen

From Doxas to Sensitizing Perspectives

The Masters of Science in Tourism, Leisure, and Environment in Wageningen starts in September and takes 2 years. The study is designed with a strong international accent. Lecturers and students come from all over the world and provide the

whole education with an international context. In their everyday life outside the university, students are also necessarily coping with this international atmosphere. The study itself is focused right from the start on this cross-cultural richness. One of the main questions in the curriculum is to develop cross-cultural insights that can be fruitful in the international context of tourism communication.

An important intention in the Wageningen tourism curriculum is to develop a chronology in which informal knowledge is assembled. This curriculum in the shadow of the official one aims at getting “silent doxas” into the official discourses by developing sensitizing perspectives from these doxas.

Students are supposed to work on this part of the curriculum from the start. They do that by compiling a “portfolio” in which this more personal material will be assembled. This hidden curriculum is designed chronologically in such a way that optimal use will be made of the so-called life-world shock that people in strange cultures experience. Therefore, there are three crucial moments to be distinguished. These moments circle around the life-world shock and its meaning for the discovery of the main doxas involved:

1. Before the shock: to understand the student in his or her situation just before the shock takes place. It seems important to know what context students come from and what made them decide from within that context to come and study in Wageningen. This information is relevant for a better understanding of how the life-world shock in Wageningen is to be understood from the students’ own perspectives. Their first impressions can be understood as the first “honeymoon” stage in the psychological analysis of a culture shock. These questions form the base for an organized round of interviews in which foreign students interview Dutch ones and the other way around. After these interviews Dutch students will summarize their interviews with the foreign ones in a plenary session. The foreign students subsequently will compose one picture of their Dutch mates as a concluding part. Like this they will have been forced to “change perspectives” and to enter

the hermeneutical circle of preunderstanding and understanding another culture. After this each student is supposed to write a story of about three pages about his or her own situation, based on the above-mentioned questions.

2. After 2 months the same procedure with a story about what happened since the start is conducted as a point of departure. During this round the life-world shock is the main topic. During this period, where at least two cultures clash, the assumption is that students arrive in another “province of meaning” and to an important degree this change will cause new reflections about some background assumptions that were self-evident before. These background assumptions are called “doxas” and in this study they represent a starting point for new perspectives to be developed. These doxas are the more relevant because of the fact that they are *shaken loose* during this shock. By the combination of the emic, the etic, and self-reflexivity an attempt will be made to include the students’ thoughts about these shocks and doxas.
3. After these interviews and stories, interviews should be organized in which a first attempt will be made to let students develop a “sensitizing” perspective that emerges from their life-world shock and refers to (an) important background assumption(s) or doxas as Bourdieu (1980) understands them. After a year it seems relevant to ask the students how they look back at the development of this perspective and how useful it has been to them.

Before the shock the results from the interviews that students had among themselves were rather predictable. The general atmosphere might be characterized as filled with excitement about a new life, about the challenging international climate, and about an enriching experience in the international student community of Wageningen.

During and after the shock new interviews were organized with the intention to understand the main clashes from various cultures with the Dutch environment. In life-world shocks relevant background assumptions will be “shaken loose.” From these assumptions interesting doxas can be de-

duced, which are crucial for the (sensitizing) perspectives that students might develop in this type of situation.

Life-World as a Source of Information, During and After the Shock

In the presentations of the interview results, the Breda and Wageningen experiences, interviews, and stories have been combined (Platenkamp, 2007, pp. 188–198) in order to prevent repetition. Both in Wageningen and in Breda, the main aim is the same: assemble the most relevant life-world information related to the life-world shocks student are going through.

Nonfictitious, ideal-typical stories have been composed out of this material. Eight stories have been told in the words of the author, who claimed therefore to be the director of the play and spoke again on behalf of these—silenced?—voices. Finally, this study is the story of the authors, although they try to represent the voices in an egalitarian way.

Eight voices are constructed: a South African, an African between the Sahel and South Africa, a postcommunist from former Eastern Europe, a Chinese, a Mongolian, an Indonesian, a South American, and a Dutch one. The stories have been checked by the experiences of colleagues in Wageningen and in Breda. One of the stories will be reflected on here.

The African, South of the Sahel. The African student has been composed of Ugandese, Ghanaese, and Cameroonian elements with, as a consequence, some harm to the uniqueness of each context. The parents of one of the Ugandese students were forced to move from the Northern countryside to the capital. They came from strong networks with extended family obligations in which religion played a crucial role, also in politics. This traditional community feeling is more important, says he, in Uganda than modern democracy. This student was raised in a traditional, rural manner combined with city life in his later childhood. He already had been a teaching assistant at university level and wanted to work at the university in the future in combination with private business. To assemble some capital for a start is the biggest prob-

lem, but he wants to save money and work with friends to get where he wants to be. Friends are crucial for your work prospects. To enter the right networks seems not always to be easy. There are many stories of students who finished a Western degree, came back and stayed in their previous, prestudy networks. Social mobility is an important issue in Uganda.

There are many opportunities, though, for tourism development. In this respect the Cameroonian student had some interesting experience. He was in the Peace Corps Volunteers, working for the ministry of education. He was involved in many tourism projects and expects to work on the development of a tourism system in Cameroon in the future. While working for a private company who wanted to introduce condoms in the countryside, he entered a village and was surrounded by villagers at short notice. They distrusted him and saw him as a criminal who wanted to put some dangerous things into their condoms so that they would die. He had to ask for the chief first and then he managed. Otherwise, he would have been killed. His conclusion: marketing tools need to take contextual information into account, which they do not. If you want to be successful, you have to “network,” is his conclusion as well. With good relations, especially in the government, things will be possible to a certain degree. If you have success with the help of the government, other families will try to blame you for it. Therefore, also this route to success is a relative one. Politics are more based on community feeling than on democracy.

Organized domestic tourism is not well developed. This is a survival economy and not a welfare state. You can go to the sea with your friends, but you do not pay anything for it. If you have money to spend, you organize yourself and you can take your family to the mountains for a picnic. Circulating money is a precondition for tourism development.

Like so many students from non-Western countries the African student also was shocked by the individualism in The Netherlands. The isolation of too many students in student houses would be impossible in his home country. Additional to this he criticizes the lack of respect in Dutch relations. Teachers educate you to become a better person.

It is disrespectful, therefore, to approach them as your equals or to smoke in front of them.

Most relevant in the life-world shock African's case, however, is sexuality. And this is not only, as says the female Ghanaese student, about the red light districts for which Holland is famous. It also goes for public kissing in front of children, homosexual marriage, and the sexual morals in tourism. The whole society seems to be crazy, in this sense. In student flats the African student feels uncomfortable because men and women live in the same corridor, often even with communal showers. In African student houses men and women live separately.

An interesting *doxa* emerged here, when the African student referred to his own cultural background. In Cameroon there is an interesting attraction, the Twin-Muanenguba lakes. These two lakes are not developed yet, do not have an infrastructure and are not (yet?) a big tourism attraction. However, they represent an interesting view on gender in Cameroon. One lake (the male one) is dark, associated with complexity and aggression and very difficult to approach. There are mysterious powers in this area. It seems that leaves never fall in the lake and in the village in the forest nearby villagers have extra voodoo power. Cameroons people are frightened of it. The other lake is typically female. The water is shining and crystal clear, you can easily get access to it and the lake lies in the open. The story has been confirmed by the other Cameroons students as well.

This image of what men and women symbolize appears to differ fundamentally from the Western images of a "belle dame sans merci," "the beauty of the Medusa," or a "femme fatale" (Praz, 1970), in which women are complex and inaccessible.

A last and interesting academic topic might be related to modernization in Uganda. The parents of the Ugandese student were still part of a tribe in the North, where totemism was the most important religion. What happens with them and their religion after their arrival in the capital?

The Stock of Life-World Knowledge as a Source of Information for What?

All these first conclusions that emerge through this evocation of striking perspectives during the

life-world shock of these international students are to be related to the broader context of the cultural apparatus of their backgrounds.

In a course on cross-cultural research in Breda students are asked to make this relation by writing an essay on a narrowed down theme that relates these personal experiences to elements of this cultural apparatus. They are stimulated to do research on the position of modern Cameroonian women, the cultural position of Turkey in between the East and the West, Dutch drugs policy in relation to Dutch tolerance, the significance of Balinese alternative medicine in our modern world, Spanish–Dutch differences in leadership style, multiculturalism in Antwerp and Rotterdam, the attitude towards death in Africa and in The Netherlands, the countryside in The Netherlands, cultural consumption in China, cultural imperialism in Malaysia and tourism, sexuality in Thai history and sex tourism, postcolonialism in Surinam, and disenchantment in the Kikuyu culture of Kenya. In this way a sensitizing perspective comes into being by which the student will concentrate in a more refined manner on the relevant *doxas* that emerge during his life-world shock.

In Wageningen, at the end of the second period in the program and as a last preparation for their essay, there was a "working session" during which students collaborate among others in defining a concept for a tourist attraction for a domestic market in their home country. In this concept their (sensitized) perspective has been included and focused on leisure as "a form of life art." This appeals to their understanding of what they would like to stand for in the actual (postcolonial) tourism situation of their home country. By this they will be stimulated to use their cultural background knowledge for professional purposes. At the end of this working session the groups presented their concepts. Eventually, they wrote essays on this concept inspired by these presentations. Students had also to make use of the academic knowledge in tourism and leisure studies as a source of inspiration and explanation for their essays on this professional discourse. The reason for this assignment was to investigate what one can do with the information one assembled during this first phase of contextualization, after this dive into a cross-cultural context during a life-world shock.

The Ugandese student who talked about modernization in Uganda during the interview and the disenchanting effect this has on totemism in traditional life came up with the concept "Discover Your Own Totem." This concept tries to attract "modernized" city people who originated from rural parts in traditional Uganda and cherish their nostalgic feelings about old, traditional times. In a cross-cultural discussion with this Ugandese student a Dutch student concluded:

Self-reflecting on the cross-cultural discussion I can conclude that in Uganda very different values and perceptions play a role. The Ugandese urban middle class is strongly related to the ties with their tribes and clans, which plays a significant role in their leisure and travel behavior. The roots of these people are far more present and detectable: they can physically return to their roots in their free time; namely the villages where their tribe originated, but also the mental relation with their roots is 'alive and kicking.' The Dutch population however, does not tend to visit exhibitions of Dutch original culture on a regular and intrinsically motivated base.

By examining the nature of the Ugandese culture and habits, and also the cultural touristic behavior of the Dutch, a new hidden reality becomes real: If you would just observe one of these cultures, only one part of the picture becomes clear. But by examining them both by the narrative tales and analysis of both of their citizens a counternarrative reveals oneself:

Nevertheless, in leisure time generally a tendency of returning occurs, even though no direct tangible aspect of 'returning to roots' can be related to since 'civilization' has started a few centuries earlier on the European continent.

Through an epistemological reflection on tacit knowledge that becomes sensitized during a life-world shock a conceptual frame has been constructed. In this frame doxas emerge from within growing sensitized perspectives. Dutch students become sensitized to their assumed lack of community feeling and their dissociation from nature in modern life. Modernization in Uganda created a revival of totemist nostalgia. In between the global and the local many hidden perspectives are to be generated into the academic and professional

discourses and narratives are of a great help in doing so. In this critical review the stories have been generated through interviews with foreign students in a Dutch host situation. In these constructed narratives "supra-personal structures of meaning and significance" are lurking at the silent background. Through this idea of a narrative-sensitized perspective they can be organized into a coherent whole that may attribute to the more universal economical, political, cultural, or professional discourses. They might even refer to a counternarrative that challenges the often as universal presented Western-dominated narratives in the social scientific discourse. Cameroonians came up with a different perspective, a counternarrative, on gender relations. On a non-Westernized universal scale this counternarrative around the already mentioned twin lakes in Cameroun challenges the influential imagery of Praz (1970), constructed in his *Romantic Agony* by referring to the 19th century romantic literature in the West. No "femme fatale" or "belle dame sans merci" but inaccessible men that are unpredictable and inaccessible, in contrast to the ladies. At first sight, a hidden doxa in the Cameroonian frame seems to illustrate a suprapersonal structure of meaning and through a narrative approach this insight came to the surface.

Community life and sexuality are dominant themes of the African student in his clash with the West (in Wageningen and Breda). In Africa gender relations are much more indirect in public and more embedded in community life. An interesting question, therefore, relates to the romanticism of the African students. In the Ugandese cities there also are some small leisure activities for the rising middle class. When they are related to romanticism, it should be organized in a very indirect way, without showing disrespect in the public space. Organizing romantic tourism in an indirect Ugandese way popped up in his mind as his professional reaction to these reflections. There is a restaurant in the city, called "Bambunest," in which different "nests" are designed in such a way that no couple can see anybody else. In this way intimacy has been guaranteed without showing disrespect in public. Otherwise nobody would come. This is organizing romanticism in the Ugandese way. Of course, there are also huge differences here between the city and the countryside. It would be

interesting to concentrate on the consequences of this difference in gender and on the kind of romanticism that goes with it for leisure concepts and tourism development in this part of Africa and compare the results with the as universally valid represented leisure and tourism concepts in parts of the West.

Examination of narratives, counternarratives, resulting in the narrative unconscious, proves its success by the cross-cultural global reality. By listening to African tales also European counternarratives can be explained and pointed out. This is only a first and incomplete elaboration on the narrative methodology of silent voices, but it could have its use and meaningfulness for future research into tourism and beyond. A final and tentative methodological frame will support this elaboration.

In this article an attempt has been organized to develop a search for hidden information starting with clashes of interpretations that emerge during life-world shocks. This hidden information is to be organized in doxas that constitute the main elements of the sensitizing perspectives of the interpretations at stake. Once these perspectives have been activated, a polyphonic dialogue (Clifford, 1988) can be created that involve the testimonios of the perspectives involved. This dialogue presupposes egalitarian relations between the participants as this forms also a main element of the concept of a testimonio (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In a silent voices methodology (see Fig. 1) a first focus is on testimonio approach of egalitarianism between narrator and researcher, but a second focus is also on the researcher who tries to evoke silent voices into his dialogue with the participants. This implies that silent voices methodology maintains the primacy of the narrator, but adds the professional skill of the researcher to detect what is formerly hidden.

First of all, training needs to be provided to the interviewers into the theory of silent voices. Also, the idea of the polyphonic dialogue as practice and concept plays a role here. But, in addition, a more active empathic role from the interviewer must be added. Secondly, in order to discover silent voices within a tourism context into a possible research project the use of stakeholders is recommendable. Tourists, professionals, and local residents could

tell their stories to a trained interviewer. Next to this effort, the method that could be used is this of storytelling in conjunction with the practice of testimonios. An interviewer sensitive to the discourses within the interviewee(s) could not only receive information but also steer the dialogue in search of the silence voices. By means of storytelling the narrative concepts could then elicit the narrative unconscious. Stories will include the contexts that are hidden in the normal pragmatic discourse within the tourism sector. A fifth step in this process is a validation or triangulation of another source of information. Secondary data in the form of brochures, images, and videos focused on the same topic or context will be confronted with the stories so that these stories and discourses can be tested on their true value as information. A final important issue is the results, which only possesses real value if the detected silent voices offer also explanations and tools for multiple stakeholders, such as the tourism industry and professionals.

Discussion

Cultural encounters play a significant role on different levels in the interacting networks of our network society. Many words have been spoken (Hollinshead, 1993, 1998a, 1998b, 2007) already about the complexity of these encounters in international tourism destinations. An important part of this complexity is being played by the hidden information that lurks at the background of varied and interacting cultural contexts. The assumption, here, is that there are not many hard bedrocks of cultures in isolation to be found, but there are many possible mutual reactions between cultural elements in the encounters of this network society. Hybridity (Hollinshead, 1998b) seems to be an important concept in this complex cultural game. In order to reach the hidden information that goes with this concept of hybridity, a discussion has been organized in this article about a theoretical and methodical approach towards this hidden information. The "international classroom of tourism studies" (Lengkeek & Platenkamp, 2004) has been introduced as a case study and a challenging practice for understanding this hidden information and using it in academic and professional discussions in tourism.

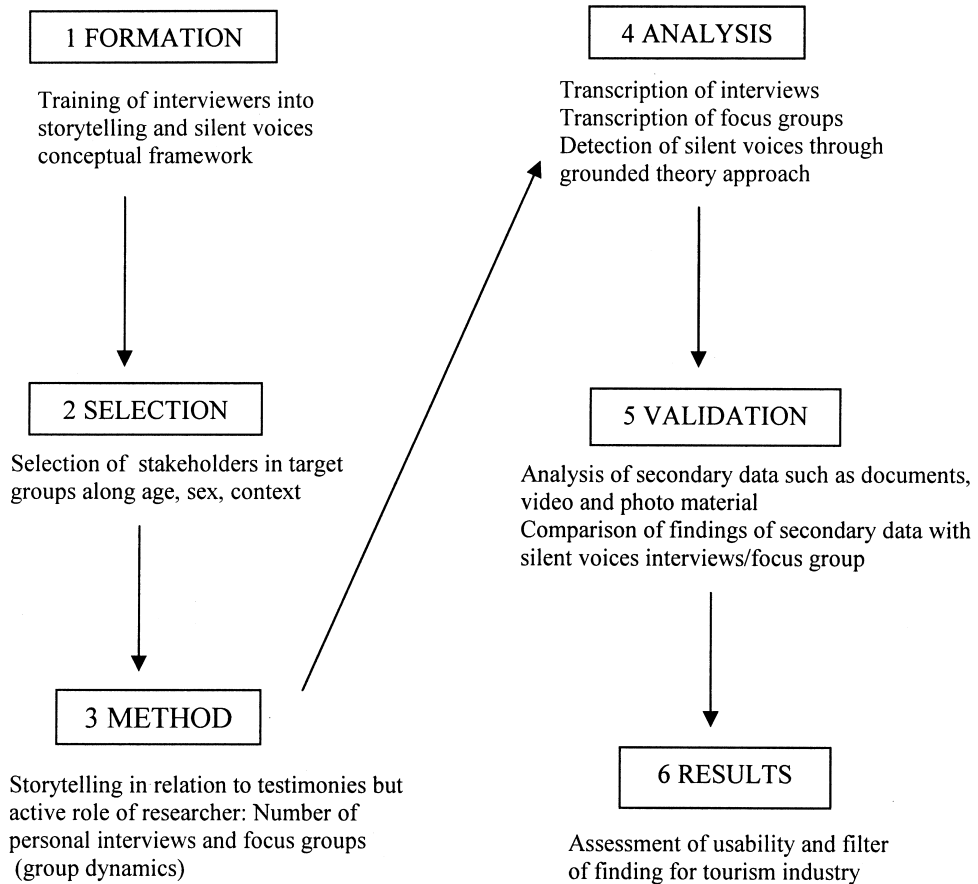


Figure 1. Silent voices methodology for tourism studies research. A six-step model to detect silent voices in doing qualitative research with an active role as a social researcher.

Crucial in this approach is a first step of contextualization. During life-world shocks information is generated around some theoretical concepts that Bourdieu (1980) has introduced. With (*allogas*, *habitus* and *field* as main anchor points sensitized perspectives have been developed that organize this hidden information in a perspectivist and narrative approach. It can be seen as knowledge that is of a latent structure, which has to be uncovered. Silent voices refer to that latent structure of knowledge, which could be uncovered by narrative qualitative analysis. In this sense, Freeman (2004) refers to the “narrative unconscious” and of counternarratives. A last question in this article has been how to develop a methodological strategy in order to systematize the presented approach of this article in a more concrete manner.

The chosen model offers a possibility to use the narrative methodology to uncover silent voices, using a blend of neighboring qualitative paradigms ethno methodology and hermeneutics. Of course, it can be subject to argumentative limitations such as the communicative skills of participants or availability of secondary data used for validation and cross-checking sources. However, silent voices can only be uncovered in a research methodology that is flexible and sensitive to unexplored contexts from which they originate.

Prospect

Silent voices are a substantial element in the main debates on tourism in this complex world in between the global and the local. They cause a lot

of confusion in academic and professional discourses where they are often admitted as important but not taken seriously into account because they are not heard enough. Therefore, it remains crucial to break the silence and to involve the silent voices in these discourses in many contexts all over our contemporary network society. The methodology proposed in this article serves as an attempt to introduce the sound of these new voices into the concerto of a polyphonic dialogue. This dialogue is impregnated in the communicative environment of an interaction between various cultures that should be treated in an egalitarian manner.

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